3: Simson--389 [2] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 198

"The 'cluck' of satisfaction referred to previously requires a little explanation; and it seems to be an expression common to all the tribes of the Provincia Oriental. It is not produced by a mere 'click' of the tongue inside the closed, or nearly closed, teeth; but by placing the tongue forward between the teeth, exhausting the air in the buccal cavity, and then suddenly opening the jaws and allowing the tongue to spring back to its normal position when at rest. The cluck usually signifies admiration, satisfaction, or astonishment; but it means something more than either of these, and occasionally expresses all of them together. When some other Indians were carrying our baggage later on, if they had set down the load and had to hoist it on to their backs again, or if they came to a bad step on the forest track, which had to be struggled over or climbed up with difficulty or strong effort, the muscles were always first braced with a 'cluck,' as a man might say 'here goes,' before taking a powerful leap."

6: Flornoy--333 [2] (1936) 1937 Jivaro
116, 198, 202

The Jivaro language is named Suor by those who use it and Aoka by the neighboring peoples. It is spoken by both men and women, the latter use no other dialect among themselves.

I found neither a secret nor a religious language; their use appears unlikely to me. There will be found farther on, several invocations utilized by the medicine-men, who are at the same time sorcerers, no word of which seems to me to be reserved for this purpose alone.

Finally if there exists a drum language, it is yet to be discovered and identified.

"Very curious are the ceremonial conversations (or perhaps, more correctly, monologues) which these Indians exchange, as a preliminary to any natural talk, whenever and wherever they meet. The speaker never looks at the individual addressed but allows his eyes to wander all around with an odd air of nonchalance; while the other accents the oration, as it were, by the constant utterance of deep-throated grunts or short, sharp, rapidly repeated ejaculations, translatable, according to one authority, (26) by the Spanish expressions sí, no, bueno, como no, así es. And every now and then the hearer expectorates in a manner suggestive of contempt, disgust, or defiance, or indulges in that peculiar clicking of the tongue habitual, it would seem, to all Amazonian tribes, whatever the action may denote. (27) The voice in these effusions is always pitched very low, so that

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"26. The Rev. Father Enrique Vacas Galindo, O. P., in his work 'Nankijukima,' published at Ambato, Ecuador, in 1895. The title is the name of a Jíbaro chief of whom the author writes.

27. Cf. Simson, op. cit., p. 94; Whiffen, op. cit., p. 249."

it acquires a ventral timbre, and the hand, with fingers bent in toward the palm, is frequently held in front of the mouth, presumably for acoustic effect. As the harangue proceeds it gathers in strength and vehemence of delivery like the crescendo of a swiftly oncoming storm, while apt emotional gestures and pose lend to the performance a fitting dramatic touch. Then the other holds forth in like manner, and, if several be present, each one has his turn. I listened to many of these extraordinary and really impressive declamations, but never succeeded in learning anything as to their subject or import....

A considerable time was thus consumed at the house which we were now visiting. The drinking of chicha followed, and after a decent interval, during which I distributed some presents of gunpowder and shot, small mirrors, beads, and other trifles, we took our departure."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

The arutam soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; eternal and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation; soul-loss; soul-capture; nonshamanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally-acquired impersonal power, kakarma, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian mana.

The concept of the muisak furnishes the rationale for head-taking and shrinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. In conclusion, one may observe that the Jívaro are so preoccupied with killing in real life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the muisak and the arutam soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jívaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

A COMMENTARY ON PREVIOUS REPORTS

A few brief comments seem to be due the reader to clarify the differences between the statements presented here and those of Karsten and Stirling, the chief contributors to the literature on the Jívaro proper. The souls will be considered here in the same order as in the preceding body of the paper, with the arutam soul first.

The "arutam" dealt with here is the "*arutama*" of Karsten (1935:448–51) and the "*tsarutama*" of Stirling (1938:115, 116). Karsten's term is a corruption of "arutam," found in a trade language used between the Jívaro and the Ecuadorian mestizos living in the village of Macas. As Karsten (1954:25) has already pointed out, Stirling's term does not exist in the Jívaro dialect.

Karsten (1954:25) has stated, "The word *ardla or ardlam* in the Jibaro language means 'old'; as a religious term *arutama* may be translated into 'The Old Ones.' . . ." Actually, however, while both words do have the same root, and *arutA* does indeed mean "old" or "used," the term "arutam" refers exclusively to the special vision which I have termed "ancient specter." My informants assured me that it does not mean "old ones." Also an arutam, however frightening it may appear, never kills anyone, despite a statement to the contrary by Karsten (1935:450). Although Karsten (1935:448–50) had some of the visions described to him, he was unaware of the souls responsible for them and the related system of belief.

While Stirling (1938:115) recognizes a similarity between his "*tsarutama*" (arutam) and concepts of the mana type in other cultures, he is misleading in stating that "tsarutama" is the force itself or that "it gives supernatural properties to certain classes of animals, plants or natural phenomena." When an arutam appears to a Jívaro, it is actually recognized to be a vision, distinct from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena.